DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11552, Ser. 3 S.) and S(O) or (E)

. Te Day Let 3 1-14

By Myd 1083, Cate 7-17.14

SECRET - EYES ONLY

Dear Mr. President:

I have reviewed the planning thus far and have the following comments for you:

As I have said I think your personal emissaries should deliver your messages to C and K. There is no disagreement as to C. As to K an emissary could better supplement the gravity of the situation you have communicated to Gromyko. And talking with K would afford a chance of uncovering his motives and objectives far better than correspondence thru the "usual channels."

As to your announcement, assuming it becomes imperative to say something soon, I think it would be a mistake at this time to disclose that an attack was imminent and that merely reciting the facts, emphasizing the gravity of the situation and that further steps were in process would be enough for the first announcement.

Because an attack would very likely result in Soviet reprisals somewhere--Turkey, Berlin, etc. -- it is most important that we have as much of the world with us as possible. To start or risk starting a nuclear war is bound to be divisive at best and the judgments of history seldom coincide with the tempers of the moment.

If war comes, in the long run our case must rest on stopping while there was still time the Soviet drive to world domination, our obligations under the Inter-American system, etc. We must be prepared for the widespread reaction that if we have a missile base in Turkey and other places around the Soviet Union surely they have a right to one in Cuba. If we attack Cuba, an ally of the USSR, isn't an attack on NATO bases equally justified. One could go on and on. While the explanation of our action may be clear to us it won't be clear to many others. Moreover, if war is the consequence, the Latin American republics may well divide and some say that the U.S. is not acting with their approval and consent. Likewise unless the issue is very clear there may be sharp differences with our Western Allies who have lived so long under the same threat of Soviet attack from bases in the satellite countries by the same IRBMs.

But all these considerations and obstacles to clear and universal understanding that we are neither rash, impetuous or indifferent to the fate of others are, I realize, only too familiar to you.

SMORET - EYES ONLY

SECRET - EYES ONLY

- 2 -

I know your dilemma is to strike before the Cuban sites are operational or to rick waiting until a proper groundwork of justification can be prepared. The national security must come first. But the means adopted have such incalculable consequences that I feel you should have made it clear that the existence of nuclear missile bases anywhere is negotiable before we start anything.

Our position, then, is that we can't negotiate with a gun at our head, a gun that imperils the innocent, helpless Cuban people as much as it does the U. S., and that if they won't remove the missiles and restore the status quo ante we will have to do it ourselves -- and then we will be ready to discuss bases in the context of a disarmament treaty or anything else with them. In short it is they, not the U.S., that have upset the balance and created this situation of such peril to the whole world.

I confess I have many misgivings about the proposed course of action, but to discuss them further would add little to what you already have in mind. So I will only repeat that it should be clear as a pikestaff that the U. S. was, is and will be ready to negotiate the elimination of bases and anything else; that it is they who have upset the precarious balance in the world in arrogant disregard of your warnings -- by threats against Berlin and now from Cuba -- and that we have no choice except to restore that balance, i.e., blackmail and intimidation never, negotiation and senity always.

Yours, .

/s/ Adlai S. Stevenson

Wednesday morning, Oct. 17

P.S. I'm returning to New York and can return, of course, at your convenience.

SEO. 11872 SPO 300, 500 AFD 22

State NLK-77-1036

MAM MAN DATE 9-12-78

Dan Mu. Pusition -

flowing encounts for gase:

les there said I took your personal conserver should beine from menages to C and IK. There is no disagramment as to C. is to IX are enciosing could better supplement the granity of the seturation gave been consumericated to trougho. and tothing inthe IX would affect a chance of fitting increasing his active and abjections for better than correspondence them the "noval channels".

a restate at this time to discuss that an attack ones immended and that merely confininging the grant of the selection the factor supposing the grant of the selection and that merely confininging the grant of the selection and that purely impleasing the grant of the selection and that further steps were in places would be surely for the first assurement.

Bleener an attack much my likely weelt in Acris september - Turkey But it - it is man important that you we have he much of the much wet us as possible. To start as rich starting a much was in house to be decided at his tail to programme of history seldom cancile with the tempers of the moment.

If was comes in the Engreen our case must nex on stapping shale there was shill there to invest drive to would domination, we abligations under the Inter-Common egeten, etc., We must be prepared for the widespread reaction that if we have a mercile have in Tarkey and atter place around the Smit Union surely they have a right to me in luba. If we attack lube, are ally of the USSA, rein an attack on NATO have equelly pretified. One card so mind m. While there the offlanding au actin oney he dien to is it were which he clear to many athers. Marenn, if man is the consequence, the date - human expelhes may well deride and some say That the his is not acting with their approval and incent. Therein where the same is very clear the may be shoop deflesses as with wire Mater allie who have loved so begunden the same titled & Smith attack from have in the sotellite countries by the same 183 Ms.

Plair are the consideration and abstrales to clean

site are aperational as to markywith a figher grained want of prelipientin can be prepared. The returned allevely much come first. Part means allefted have such included that come first the means allefted have such made it dear that the muches much heard any that the media hears any show that it dear that the muches much heard any show its means that any thing.

Confording, then, is that we can't regoted with a gum at our head, and if they a gum that might as remained the insecute, bulpluss Cuban people as remained at here the it is, and that if they want remained the intervals and rectand the states quo and me will have to do it ourselves - and then me will be surely to discuss have in the cretist of a chiral manual treaty on anything when with them. In should in a truly mar the it's, that have upone the halance and enough the intervals of such fine halance and enough.

de .

Josepher Sham many onegoing, short the perturbation of a later of action, but to discuss them further would aid letter to what your check is done as a picked top took the U.S. was, is and will be such to repete the shiminghing of have and any other power of any thing day, that it is they also have apart the percension before in the march in arrayant discipant of your increasing - by these against the second of your increasing - by these against the character and now from labar - and that we have no chance up of to sealer that belonce, and I.R. blackmail and intimitable never, regaliting and sacrify always.

gours -

Wadnesday menning act 17.

3. I. Sin returning to transports and come return, of commence, at your commence.